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Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------099402 201138Z /20
O 200910Z APR 78 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6187

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOGADISCIO 0865

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: MASS, US, SO
SUBJ: ARMS SALES TO SOMALIA

REF: STATE 096178

SUMMARY: ON APRIL 19 PRESIDENT SIAD INDICATED HE WOULD ACCEPT OUR TERMS ON THE INITIAL SUPPLY OF ARMS TO SOMALIA INCLUDING THE VISIT OF A MILITARY SURVEY MISSION. HE HAS NOT YET REPLIED IN WRITING, BUT INDICATED HE WOULD DO SO PROMPTLY. THE SOMALI LEADER MADE A RENEWED APPEAL FOR A US GUARANTEE OF SOMALI BORDERS. HE REPEATED HIS GRAVE CONCERN FOR THE SECURITY OF HIS COUNTRY. END SUMMARY.

1. I CALLED UPON PRESIDENT SIAD YESTERDAY AFTERNOON, APRIL 19, SHORTLY AFTER THE PRESIDENT RETURNED FROM HIS CHINA TRIP. IT WAS NOT MY INTENTION TO PRESS FOR AN AUDIENCE IMMEDIATELY, BUT HIS SECRETARIAT MISUNDERSTOOD MY INQUIRY ABOUT HIS RETURN, AND INSTEAD ARRANGED A MEETING FORTHWITH. THE DCM ACCOMPANIED ME. I REVIEWED CAREFULLY FOR SIAD THE TALKING POINTS IN REFTEL. THE SOMALI LEADER, WHO APPEARED SOMEWHAT FATIGUED AS THE SESSION GOT UNDERWAY, BRIGHTENED PERCEPTIBLY AS WE REACHED THE BUSINESS AT HAND. HE WAS ALTERNATELY STERN AND DRAMATIC, AND THEN RELAXED AND JOVIAL IN THE TWO-AND-A-QUARTER-HOUR SESSION. HE MADE THREE GENERAL POINTS TO

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WHICH HE RETURNED AT FREQUENT INTERVALS:

A) SOMALIA MAY BE INVADED AT ANY TIME BY A COMBINATION OF POWERS WITH FAR GREATER MIGHT THAN SOMALIA POSSESSES.

B) SOMALIA NEEDS EXPEDITIOUSLY A FULL RANGE OF ARMAMENTS TO PROTECT ITS SECURITY.

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C) SOMALIA LOOKS TO THE UNITED STATES AS THE ONLY
POWER WHICH CAN CONSTRAIN THE SOVIET UNION, GUARANTEE
SOMALIA'S BORDERS, AND ENSURE THE TRANQUILITY ESSENTIAL
TO THE COUNTRY'S DEVELOPMENT.

2. FOLLOWING MY INITIAL PRESENTATION, SIAD SAID HE WAS
GRATEFUL FOR PRESIDENT CARTER'S RESPONSE TO SOMALIA'S
APPEAL. HE SAID HE HAD TOLD ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE
THAT SOMALIA WOULD NOT USE US-SUPPLIED WEAPONS AGAINST ANY
COUNTRY EXCEPT IN THE DEFENSE OF SOMALIA. HE GAVE THAT
ASSURANCE IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE SOMALI
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, BUT IF IT WERE NECESSARY HE WOULD
REPEAT IT AGAIN IN WHATEVER FORM WAS REQUIRED. I TOLD
SIAD WE HAD A LEGAL REQUIREMENT FOR WRITTEN ASSURANCES,
WHICH IN THE COURSE OF CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW WOULD HAVE
TO BE MADE PUBLIC. HE DID NOT OBJECT TO THAT.

3. I DID NOT GIVE SIAD A COPY OF THE LIST OF ARMS AND
EQUIPMENT, STATE 099321, WHICH ARRIVED AS I WAS JUST
ABOUT TO DEPART THE EMBASSY. THERE WAS SUFFICIENT TO
COVER IN THIS SESSION WITHOUT GETTING DOWN TO THE DETAILS.
(MOREOVER, I HAD NOT HAD SUFFICIENT OPPORTUNITY TO CHECK
THE NOMENCLATURE OF SOME OF THE ITEMS.) THERE WAS IN MY
VIEW, YET ANOTHER REASON FOR DELAY. I WANTED TO HAVE HIS
RESPONSE TO MY LETTER IN HAND BEFORE GOING OVER THE LIST.
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I DID NOTE, HOWEVER, THAT I HAD JUST RECEIVED SUCH A LIST,
AND WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER IT WITH HIM SUBSEQUENTLY.
IN DISCUSSING THE INITIAL IMPACT PACKAGE WITH SIAD, I SAID
IT WAS ASSEMBLED ON THE BASIS OF WHAT WE COULD PROVIDE
IMMEDIATELY FROM THE SHELVES AND WOULD BE USEFUL TO HIM
AT ONCE. HE ACCEPTED THAT, AND SAID THAT HE APPRECIATED
THE INCREASE MADE AS A RESULT OF HIS TALKS WITH MR. MOOSE.

4. IN DISCSSING THE MILITARY SURVEY MISSION, I POINTED
OUT TO SIAD THAT IN MY TIME IN SOMALIA I HAD ONLY ONCE
SEEN HIS DEFENSE MINISTER ON AN OFFICIAL CALL. I SAID
IT WAS ENTIRELY UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT MORE SUBSTANTIAL
MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM THE UNITED STATES UNLESS OUR RES-
PECTIVE MILITARY EXPERTS COULD AGREE UPON SOMALIA'S NEEDS.
I ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO WAY WE COULD MAKE A CONVINCING
CASE TO THE PRESIDENT OR THE CONGRESS WITHOUT THE INDICA-
TION THAT THERE WAS SUFFICIENT SOMALI TRUST IN A SURVEY MISSION
WHICH WOULD HAVE TO CARRY THE BURDEN OF THE ARGUMENTATION.
SIAD RATHER HALF-HEARTEDLY REPEATED THE ARGUMENT MADE
TO MR. MOOSE, CONTENDING THAT IF PLANES AND TANKS WERE
RULED OUT, THEN THERE WAS NO POINT IN A MISSION. I SAID
THE TEAM PROPOSED TO EXAMINE SOMALIA'S

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IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM REQUIREMENTS. SIAD SAID, "ALL RIGHT, IF THEY WILL COME WITH AN OPEN MIND, THEY CAN COME". I SAID I THOUGHT THAT WAS AN ACCEPTABLE DEFINITION OF IMMEDIATE AND LONG-RANGE REQUIREMENTS.

5. SIAD WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPONS WERE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PACKAGE. HE SAID, "I HAVE NO PLANES". HE LISTENED CAREFULLY TO MY EXPOSITION THAT OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES WERE IN A BETTER POSITION THAN WE WERE TO PROVIDE WEAPONS IN THIS AREA, AND THAT WE WOULD INTERCEDE WITH THEM ON HIS BEHALF AS A PART OF OUR OVER-ALL PROGRAM OF SUPPORT FOR SOMALIA'S DEFENSIVE REQUIREMENTS.

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6. THE SOMALI LEADER ARGUED AT LENGTH FOR A US GUARANTEE OF SOMALIA'S BORDERS. HE SAID SOMALIA HAD WITHDRAWN FROM THE OGADEN AS REQUESTED, BUT THERE WAS NO EQUIVALENT WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET AND CUBAN FORCES FROM ETHIOPIA. THE UNITED STATES, HE CONTENDED, COULD HALT ANY POSSIBLE SOVIET ENCROACHMENT WITH A WORD. THE SOMALI PEOPLE WOULD THEN KEEP PEACE AND TRANQUILITY. I REVIEWED WITH SIAD THE SEVERAL ACTIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE UNITED STATES TO DEMONSTRATE ITS CONCERN FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IN THE HORN. I MENTIONED THE PRESIDENT'S MARCH 17 WAKE FOREST SPEECH, THE EXPLICIT LINKING OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN THE HORN TO SALT, AND THE SUSPENSION OF THE INDIAN OCEAN TALKS AS STEPS WHICH HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT US CONCERN IS SUBSTANTIAL. HE LISTENED TO THESE POINTS, BUT PRESSED FOR A SPECIFIC STATEMENT FROM THE PRESIDENT OR AT MINIMUM A PUBLIC DECLARATION FROM THE USG ON SOMALIA'S BORDERS. HE SAID THERE WAS LITTLE HE COULD SAY AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION IN HIS PRESENT WEAKENED CONDITION. WITH NO DEFENSES,

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HE SAID, "I MUST BE CAUTIOUS", AND REFER TO SOVIET ACTIONS
AS THE "NEW IMPERIALISM". "IF I WERE SURE THE UNITED
STATES GUARANTEED OUR BORDERS, AND I HAD ADEQUATE DEFENSES,
I WOULD THEN SPEAK OUT MORE PLAINLY. THE SOMALI PEOPLE
TOO WOULD TAKE HEART, AND I COULD LEAD THEM IN TRANQUILITY
TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT THEY SO BADLY NEED AND WANT".
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7. SIAD THEN ADDRESSED THE ABORTIVE COUP, A SUBJECT
WHICH I SHALL REPORT IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE. HE ACCEPTED
THE REFTEL LETTER, AND INDICATED I WOULD HAVE HIS RES-
PONSE SHORTLY. HE WAS CURCIOUSLY RETICENT ABOUT HIS
TRIP TO CHINA, BUT THE SESSION HAD COVERED SO MUCH GROUND
THAT I WAS RELUCTANT TO PRESS HIM ON THAT TOPIC.

8. COMMENT: I BELIEVE WE HAVE THE AGREEMENT WE HAVE
SOUGHT FROM SIAD. THE PROOF WILL BE IN HIS WRITTEN RES-
PONSE. I DO NOT ANTICIPATE MUCH DELAY IN RECEIVING
THAT DOCUMENT. SIAD WILL REGARD THE INITIAL IMPACT PACK-
AGE AS THE OPENING WEDGE IN AN ARMS-SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP.
HIS APPETITE FOR MORE WILL BE SUBSTANTIAL. (FORTUNATELY
HE DID NOT CITE OUR STATISTICS ON SOVIET ARMS TO
ETHIOPIA. HAD HE DONE SO HE MIGHT HAVE SAID YOUR CIA
DEPUTY DIRECTOR TOLD SENATORS THAT ETHIOPIA HAS RECEIVED
A THOUSAND MILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF SOVIET AID. THAT MAKES
YOUR OFFER COMPARED TO WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE ACTUALLY
DELIVERED IN THE RATIO OF 1.5 TO 100.) I HOPE WE WILL
MOVE PROMPTLY TO CONCERT WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES ON
COLLATERAL ASPECTS OF AN ARMS-SUPPLY PROBLEM. I SHOULD
LIKE TO BRIEF MY NATO COLLEAGUES HERE AT THE SAME TIME.
IT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL TO ME IN MY UPCOMING CONTACTS
WITH SIAD IF I COULD DISCUSS TARGET TIMING ON THE SUB-
MISSION FOR FSM ELIGIBILITY, THE DELIVERY OF THE INITIAL
IMPACT PACKAGE, THE DATE OF THE MILITARY SURVEY MISSION
AND THE DATE WHEN CONSULTATIONS WITH THE EUROPEANS ON
ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPONS MIGHT BEGIN. SIAD, BY THE WAY,
DID NOT RAISE FINANCING IN OUR DISCUSSION.
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